

SECRET RUSSIAN REPORT ON JEWISH PASSPORTS

Attitude of the United States Is Justified by the Recommendations of the Durnovo Commission

By Herman Bernstein

Seven years ago the Durnovo commission was appointed by the Czar to investigate the Russian passport system, and particularly the foreign passport system. The commission investigated the problems and prepared an elaborate report in 1905 and then went out of existence.

No one outside of the close circle of high Russian officials knew what the nature of the report or of its recommendations was. But from time to time the American Government was given to understand that the Durnovo commission was still at work upon the passport question and that some day reforms would be introduced and the differences between the United States and Russia would be adjusted by the commission which has been dead now for almost seven years.

The most surprising thing of all is that the report submitted by the Durnovo commission to the Czar in 1905 contains recommendations which show beyond the slightest doubt that the attitude of the United States with regard to the passport question was not only correct but was known to be correct by the Russian Government to be justifiable.

Senator Durnovo, who was at the head of the commission, is known as one of the most radical reactionaries and Jew haters in Russia, and yet in his report he admits that the treatment of foreign Jews by the Russian Government should be changed and that new laws should be made to meet modern conditions.

This report is of special significance because the commission was composed of many well known Russian officials of the highest rank and all of them realized that Russia was only causing herself harm by discriminating against the Jews of other countries.

Svyatopolk Minsky, the former Prime Minister, organized the special commission under the supervision of the Minister of the Interior. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of Finance, Justice and War were also represented. One of the members of the commission was Alexander Lopukhin, actual Councillor of State, former Director of the Police

Department of the Russian Empire and now exiled to Siberia for having helped in exposing the agent provocateur, Eugene Azeff.

The following are some of the more important passages of the report dealing particularly with the passport problem for Jewish citizens of other countries:

New Passport Rules Needed.

A careful examination of the passport regulations for foreigners now in force leads to the conclusion that these regulations, enacted at different periods and often on separate occasions, have long been in need of a fundamental revision. According to the conclusion of the representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in the commission, these regulations, on account of their complicated character and the mass of unnecessary and annoying formalities in them, are the cause of dissatisfaction on the part of foreign Governments, dissatisfaction which is fully justified.

The "visé" of Russian diplomats and consuls is not required for members of foreign legations in Russia, for couriers from foreign courts and for persons sent by foreign states to our Government, who are admitted on the passports of their own courts and Ministers. A foreigner coming to the frontier without the required passport is immediately removed across the frontier by the local police. Certain categories of foreign subjects are deprived of the right of entering the empire altogether, and the visé of their passports by the consulates and legations is prohibited. These categories include (1) members of the Jewish order; (2) persons who for special personal reasons are not allowed to enter Russia; (3) persons who are considered politically unreliable by our diplomatic representatives and consuls; (4) gypsies, street organ players, peddlers and vagrants in general, and (5) Rumanian Jews without means of livelihood. Here are also included Armenian-griests who come to make collections of money and who are admitted only by special permission of his Majesty.

Jews Who Are Admitted.

The regulations are on account of their formality and their unjustified oppressiveness, at present not in harmony with the requirements of international life. The Minister of the Interior is therefore in sympathy with the attempt of the commission fundamentally to revise

them and approves the project outlined by it.

If the question of passports for foreigners in general can be solved without difficulties in such a way as to remove some of the formalities admitted to be unnecessary, the question of the admission of foreign Jews into the empire is extremely complicated. According to article 230 of the statute on passports, edition of 1903, our embassies, legations and consulates have the right to visé the passports, in the same manner as those of other foreigners, only of Jews "bankers and heads of well known important business houses." Then "foreign Jews, particularly agents representing important foreign business houses," must, if they wish to go to Russia, obtain special permission from the Ministry of the Interior and they may visit "certain manufacturing and commercial places in Russia and remain there for a certain length of time, according to discretion."

This regulation, indefinite in meaning and apt to cause various doubts in practice, has created many essential difficulties for our commerce and manufactures, in consequence whereof regulations explanatory to article 230 of the statute on passports were elaborated in 1901 by the Ministry of the Interior in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and upon the insistent demand of the then Minister of Finance Vishnogradsky for the express purpose of furthering our commercial relations with western Europe; these explanatory regulations received his Majesty's approval on March 14, 1901. These regulations were not published and could not, therefore, be included in the statute on passports, edition of 1903; nevertheless, they form the law in operation at the present time on this question.

Difficulties of the Law.

Though the regulations mentioned were composed for the purpose of explaining the law, they are as a matter of fact a new law more favorable to the Jews. Under the pretext of explaining the phrase "bankers and heads of well known important business houses" whose passports are viséd by our consuls without the special permission of the Ministry of the Interior, the rules of March 14, 1901, identified with bankers and heads of business houses not only all Jews who are at the head of all duly registered commercial firms but also agents, representatives, employees and commissioners. Then as the need of wider personal relations with western Europe became more and more felt, the interpretation of the law was further modified in a series of circular ordinances to the extent that partners and members of commercial firms should enjoy the same rights as their chiefs and that the limitation of the number of

commission men, representatives and agents sent by any one business house to Russia should be discouraged as hindering the free commercial relations of large foreign business houses with Russia and as injurious to the interests of both sides.

In practice, however, the enforcement of the law laid down in article 230, as well as of the regulations of March 14, 1901, is beset with endless difficulties, regardless of all explanatory circulars mentioned. In the law as well as in the regulations are not mentioned persons who conduct business on their own account but who are not directors of any business houses; so-called drummers (commis voyageurs) are also omitted. The registration of business houses in various countries is subject to a variety of conditions; in Austria registration is not subject to a few hours register and have his passport viséd by our consul; in England, on the contrary, only corporations with limited liability are registered.

Complaints and Delays.

Our consuls have no means of verifying the certificates of registration, affidavits, etc., and receiving besides many Jewish passports by mail they have no way of telling whether the business house indicated is in actual existence or not. Many Jews, as shown by documentary evidence in the possession of the ministries of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs, declare themselves as not belonging to any religious denomination, and the consuls are compelled to judge of their Jewish origin by their appearance, which, regardless of unpleasant arguments, is the cause of endless complaints and complicated correspondence.

But still greater difficulties are encountered in dealing with foreign Jews who are not in business; doctors, savants, ministers, deputies, artists, etc., whose coming to Russia is subject to the permission of the Minister of the Interior. In view of all kinds of international congresses, conventions, exhibitions, held at the present time our representatives abroad, according to the statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, constantly under necessity of listening to complaints and reproaches about the oppressiveness of the law regulating the admission of the above named persons into Russia.

The permission to enter Russia is always granted in such cases, but the telegraphic and postal communications which take place in such cases require so much time that sometimes a doctor has his passport viséd for entering Russia after the funeral of the patient whom he is asked to attend. Scientific conferences and congresses held in Russia are inevitably accompanied by correspondence about the Jews invited from foreign countries, while the arrival of artists, musicians,

singers, etc., is generally preceded by numerous petitions involving correspondence between the Department of Police and the second department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Workers Alone Kept Out.

The same considerations could be applied to the petitions of foreign Jews who are not in business and who wish to come to Russia to visit their families, to attend weddings, funerals, etc. Permission is often granted too late, after the occasion for the visit has already passed away.

The commission which was entrusted with the task of formulating the project of a statute on passports herewith submitted for consideration to the State Council, having considered in all its details the question of the admission of foreign Jews into Russia, has come to the conclusion, which in the opinion of the Minister of the Interior is entirely correct, namely that almost all Jews can with the help of more or less complicated combinations obtain the visé of a consul for entering the empire. In practice article 230 and the regulations of March 14, 1901, hinder the arrival only of Jewish workmen, employees and generally of all those engaged in inferior branches of labor. All others who are in one way or another connected with business, in view of the conditions described above, freely enter Russia.

The established formalities, to which all have become accustomed, are easily evaded and in practice merely complicate the work of our officials. For Jews who are not in any way connected with business their coming to Russia is merely a question of time, and any person engaged in a liberal profession may obtain permission by sending in an application in time. The question, therefore, is whether it is possible, without changing in the interests of our commerce and manufactures the now existing statute so as to add new limitations and constraints, to formulate the working of the law in a manner which would guarantee its accurate enforcement and which would do away with all misunderstandings and inconveniences which arise in practice and which were pointed out above.

No Excess Law Practicable.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the said misunderstandings and inconveniences arise partly during the visé of passports by our consuls, partly because of the necessity of petitioning the Minister of the Interior for permits. Devoted to his great public duties, the Minister cannot enter into a detailed examination of the numerous applications coming in from foreign Jews who wish to come to Russia for various purposes; in practice all applications are acted upon by the Department of Police, and even the direc-

Boldest Reactionaries Declare There Should Be Radical Reform in Issuing Tourist Permits

tor of the department cannot always verify the grounds stated in the applications. If the department would conduct an inquiry about each application, whether a given person is actually sick or not, whether he died or is to be married, whether the participation of a given singer in a certain chorus is necessary or not, whether a certain Jew is a professor, editor of a newspaper, or not, etc., such inquiries would require the expenditure of much energy and time. In view of the many other duties which require the attention of officials, the solution of questions of this kind is inevitably left to personal discretion unlimited and unregulated.

The above considerations which give a true picture of the state of affairs would seem to lead to the only possible logical conclusion that it is extremely undesirable to make the admission of foreign Jews into Russia dependent on permits issued in St. Petersburg and that, consequently, all limitations for Jews which are considered useful and practicable should be clearly stated in the law for the guidance of consuls viséing the passports of all foreigners going to Russia; the Minister of the Interior, in accordance with the views of the commission, not only finds it difficult to offer a formula which would with sufficient clearness point out to the consuls the categories of Jews whose passports should be viséd without impediment, but he thinks that the attempt to draw up a clear and exact law on this question which should be practicable at the same time is futile and will not lead to satisfactory results.

It is not sufficient to enumerate in the law the categories of Jews under consideration, for the consuls are not in a position to verify the statements of persons addressing them, while the enumeration itself, no matter how detailed, cannot include all nuances and shades of commercial, property, family, professional, and other relations of neighboring States. In practice we shall have confusion at first, adaptation to the new condition of things afterward, and finally circular explanations, which, like the regulations of March 14, 1901, will lead to a complete modification of the very essence of the law by administrative measures.

One Rule for All Proposed.

On the basis of the foregoing considerations the Minister of the Interior is of the opinion that it is best to renounce all attempts of drawing up new and clearer rules on the coming of foreign Jews into

Russia, and as the rules now in force have proved entirely unsatisfactory in practice, it would seem that they should be abolished, leaving thus foreign Jews subject only to the rules applicable to foreigners in general. This proposition by no means proves that the coming of Jews is desirable or a matter of indifference; it is probably better that the number of visiting Jews should gradually decrease, but in the opinion of the Minister of the Interior, it is impossible to achieve this result by a new law without making new limitations the enforcement of which would lead again to misunderstandings and inconveniences.

The equalization of Jews with other foreigners whose cases are now submitted for consideration to the State Council requires a few more brief explanations on two points. In the first place, it is just to allow foreign Jews more privileges than are enjoyed by Russian Jewish subjects whose admission into regions outside the Pale subject to the very essential limitations? With reference to this point it is necessary to note that the law makes no mention of the Pale, and that consequently the general limitations concerning Jewish subjects are not applicable to foreign Jews. Nevertheless, at the time the regulations of March 14, 1901, were proclaimed it became known that local authorities of many governments (gubernias) ordered foreign Jews deported into the Pale, wherefore Article of the said regulations stipulates that in the consular visés the Pale should not be mentioned. Thus even at the present time all foreign Jews coming, as was indicated above, with complete freedom have the right to ignore the limitations of the Jewish Pale. Any deviation from existing regulations in the direction of limitation would have, as has been many times stated by the Minister of Finance, a bad effect on our commerce.

Having examined the project of the statute on passports outlined by the commission under the direction of Senator Durnovo, the Minister of the Interior cannot help noting that the existing passport system has become deeply rooted in the habits of the people as well as in our governmental institutions. The present project, changing, as it does, the very spirit and tendency of the system, must have a thoroughgoing influence on the future methods and activities of the police and other authorities. It is therefore necessary before the new regulations are introduced into the life of the people, to give the police authorities as well as private persons sufficient time for adaptation to the new conditions. With this purpose in view the Minister of the Interior would propose that the new statute on passports should become law and should begin to be enforced commencing January 1 of the following year, 1912.

OVER 800,000 WOMEN TO VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

Presidential candidates will have to reckon this year with the votes of more than 800,000 women in six States which control thirty-seven electoral votes.

The four States in which women were entitled to vote in 1908 had only fourteen electoral votes, so that the addition of Washington with seven votes and of California with thirteen to the equal suffrage list and the allotment of one more vote each to Colorado, Idaho and Utah more than doubles the power of the woman's ballot. It must be remembered also that there is at least a possibility that Ohio will enfranchise women at the special election for the consideration of amendments to the State Constitution scheduled for July, and in this event twenty-four more electoral votes would be subject to feminine influence. Should the New Hampshire constitutional convention pass favorably upon the woman's suffrage amendment, then, that State could vote in November, as the New Hampshire law does not require that the amendment shall be submitted to the people. New Hampshire has four electoral votes.

If all goes well, then, from the suffragist point of view women will have something to say about 65 out of 531 votes in the Electoral College.

How will the women vote? Will their ballots be cast strictly along party lines, or will they favor whoever they consider the best man regardless of the platform on which he is nominated? Will they vote according to the dictates of their husbands, brothers and fathers, or will they form their decisions independently? Can they be bought? Can women politicians be depended upon to deliver the goods, to round up voters who will not bolt at the last moment?

All these questions have been discussed for many years when pleas have been made either for or against woman suffrage, and they have been answered as a rule according to the prejudices of the speakers. Within the last few months, however, politicians who do not make a practice of attending suffrage meetings are devoting time and energy to the consideration of some of these problems, and not from an academic point of view. The reasons for this attitude will be evident from a superficial examination of the conditions in the six suffrage States.

Stateswomen Might Sway.

California, which, according to the latest estimate, has nearly 400,000 women voters, gave to President Taft in 1908 a plurality of only 80,000 over Bryan, and to McKinley over Bryan in 1900 a plurality of only 89,770, although Roosevelt obtained in 1904 115,522 more votes than Parker. It can easily be seen, therefore, that any issue which would appeal strongly to the women voters could swing the election to one candidate or another.

Similar conditions prevail in other States. Washington, with an estimated feminine vote of about 200,000, gave McKinley a plurality of 12,423, Roosevelt in 1908 79,422 and Taft 43,371. Colorado, which has about 150,000 women voters, gave Bryan in 1900 a plurality of 29,461, Roosevelt a plurality of 34,852 and Bryan in 1908 a plurality of 3,040. Bryan carried Idaho in 1900 by a plurality of 2,216. Roosevelt ran 29,303 ahead of Parker in the State in 1904, and Taft beat Bryan by 16,526. More than 90,000 women will be qualified to vote in Idaho at the coming election.

Utah, with more than 70,000 women voters, gave to McKinley in 1900 a plurality of 2,133 over Bryan, to Roosevelt over Parker 29,303 and to Taft 18,414. Wyoming, which lastly about 29,000 women voters, gave McKinley a plurality of 4,318, Roosevelt 11,059 and Taft 5,820. Ohio, which gave Roosevelt a plurality of 75,421, gave Taft in 1904 only 69,581. There is as yet no concerted movement

among women voters or among suffragists not yet enfranchised in favor of any Presidential candidate now in the field. The Rev. Anna Shaw, president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, said last week that it was utterly impossible to prophesy what the women would do.

Dr. Anna Shaw's Views.

"Women as women have no special interest in any of the men now before the country as probable candidates," she explained. "Therefore there is every reason to suppose that they will vote as do men, according to their party affiliations. So far as we now know there will be no great principle at stake to be settled one way or another at the coming election, neither is there likely to be any great moral issue."

"Speaking roughly I should say that if there is any general bias among the women of the suffrage States, it is in favor of progressive Republicanism, and if La Follette were to be nominated I think he would poll a large vote among the women. The fact of his being a strong advocate of woman suffrage would of course gain for him not only the votes of a great many women, but it would also throw to his standard all of that much vaunted indirect influence which non-enfranchised suffragists possess as women."

Other Candidates Alike.

"But with La Follette out of the running, it does not seem to me that there is a pin's difference among the men in the field. President Taft speaks mildly in favor of woman suffrage in the States where it exists, and is non-committal when he speaks in other States. Taft, however, seems to have well defined ideas concerning questions of national import, and shows no disposition to run off at tangents. His general reputation for fairness and candor appeals to a very large element among all women, and there is no reason to believe that these things will not proportionately influence women voters."

"Woodrow Wilson refuses to commit himself on the suffrage question. He continues to say that he is as yet unable to make up his mind. His ideas regarding certain forms of so-called progressive legislation will win him votes among women as well as among men, but those who cast their ballots for him will do so because of personal preference. There will be no division over Gov. Wilson along sex lines."

T. R. Has Juggled, She Says.

"As for Col. Roosevelt, he doesn't stand for anything, apparently, except for Col. Roosevelt, first, last and all the time. He has juggled with the suffrage question for years and there is at present very little interest among the women who are working for the ballot as to what his attitude may be on the subject."

"In the event of his being nominated by the Republican party, he would of course get the votes of both the men and the women who make a practice of always standing by the straight ticket. The women would not work for him as they would have done for La Follette, and it is possible that a good Democratic candidate might get a fair proportion of insurgent votes. The same thing might be equally true, however, if President Taft is the candidate, and it applies with equal force to men and to women."

"Is there nothing then that will be likely to influence a large proportion of the women voting?" she was asked. "The one thing that I can think of right now," replied Miss Shaw. "If either of the great national parties should



Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe, SEATTLE, PRESIDENT NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN VOTERS

insert a woman suffrage plank in its platform at the coming national convention it would spell victory for that party. I should not be in the least surprised were such action to be taken, and from present indications I should say that we have more to hope for in that line from the Democratic party."

Can't Agree as to Results.

It has been found impossible to get even approximately accurate statistics regarding the women's vote in Presidential elections. As to the question as to whether or no woman suffrage has been a success in the States where it has obtained for years, opinions are as far apart as the poles. Enthusiastic advocates of the cause assert that its only influence has been for good, while the anti declaration that it has been an unmitigated evil. Speakers on each side fairly bristle with statistics, and innumerable state ments from officeholders, politicians, clergymen and educators are cited both for and against.

As a sample of the point of view of the anti, the following arraignment of women voters in Colorado may be taken as indicating the point of view of the opposers of woman suffrage. It was written by a Denver anti:

"The removal of the ballot on women practically doubles the field of the corrupt party boss, and the campaign committees make large appropriations for tawdry for influential club women and for candy for other women, so that dress-makers and confectioners are heartily in favor of woman suffrage."

An Evil, Says an Anti.

"So far as woman suffrage in large cities is concerned, it is the opinion of many who have made a close study of the subject in all its phases that it is practically an unlimited evil. There is so little that can be said in its favor and so much that can be proved against it that its advocates are simply overwhelmed whenever the matter is discussed fairly and fully."

"The officeholders of the equal suffrage States, that is, the United States Congressmen, Governors and legislators, oppose woman suffrage but dare not say so. They go on the stump and profess to favor it, but whenever they find a chance to fight it without being found out they may be found arrayed against it."

The National Woman Suffrage Association publishes a general reply to adverse criticism in this State.

"Woman suffrage in Colorado," the



Mrs. Juddon King, TREASURER EQUAL SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE



Mrs. Harriet Taylor, PRESIDENT WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, OHIO

opening paragraph declares, "is condemned by the very interests and for the very reasons that ought to commend it to every true democrat in the land. The facts alleged against it are false, the interests that originate them are predatory and socially vicious; the periodicals and the individuals that circulate them are of the depraved, the reactionary or the dupe class. From every point of criticism, woman suffrage has been a great civic success."

Party Lines Disregarded.

The general opinion among recent investigators seems to be that woman suffrage has not wrought the social and political changes either for good or for evil which its friends and its enemies predicted for it. While it has not, they allege, purified the general political atmosphere in the places where it has been tried, particularly in large cities, it has not, on the other hand led to any political abuses which did not previously exist.

Women as a class, they contend, take more interest in local than in national affairs, and whenever a moral issue is involved in some local election it is safe to predict that they will disregard party lines and vote for the best man. Women have not made any strenuous effort to secure public office except those of State and county superintendents of education and of county treasurer. It is generally agreed that they have discharged the duties of these offices in a satisfactory manner. Women have also served as county clerks, assessors and coroners and have always shown a willingness to sit upon juries, although in the older suffrage States it has not been customary to impanel them except in special cases.

The acts of legislation for which they have been wholly or partly responsible relate to such questions as the guardianship of children, revision of the laws of inheritance, the establishment of reformatories and educational institutions of various kinds, the raising of the age of consent for girls, and local opinion regarding the sale of liquor. Women voters have not in any very large numbers supported the Prohibition party, but they have generally shown themselves in favor of high license.

It is charged that woman suffrage has increased the influence of the Mormon Church both in Utah and in Idaho. The Mormons, both men and women, vote almost as a unit, and Mormon women are willing to walk long distances to the polls, whereas Gentile women demand carriages.



Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, PRESIDENT NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION



Omar E. Garwood, DENVER, SECRETARY NATIONAL MEN'S LEAGUE FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE

There is a great difference of opinion as to the part played in elections by women of the underworld. Enemies of suffrage declare that it is a large and important part, while its adherents insist that it is almost inappreciable. It is generally admitted that polling places are more decent in the places where women vote than in those where only men cast ballots and that there is less drunkenness and disorderly conduct on the streets on election day.

Judge Lindsey's Victory.

As a result of an attack on equal suffrage in Colorado made by Richard Barry in November, 1910, in a magazine the men of the State formed the Colorado Equal Suffrage Aid Association, the purpose of which is to disseminate information regarding woman suffrage. Its president is ex-Gov. Alva Adams. Isaac N. Stevens, former District Attorney of Denver, and author of a novel which Miss Inez Milholland, the famous Socialist-suffragist,

is heroine, is vice-president, and Omar E. Garwood is secretary. Mr. Garwood has since his appointment defended the women of his State in many speeches and articles against every charge made by Mr. Barry. He cites a long list of laws for the benefit of women and children which he asserts are directly due to women's votes, and denies that women are unduly influenced by motives of political expediency or that they are open to bribery and corruption even to the extent that men are.

He refers to the election of Ben Lindsey to the judgeship of the Juvenile Court of Denver in 1908 as an evidence that when a moral issue is involved women will bolt from political parties and vote according to the dictates of their consciences. Judge Lindsey has told on hundreds of platforms the story of the victory won for him by the women of Denver after he had been rejected by both of the leading political parties.

As for the taking of bribes, Mr. Garwood says that although large rewards were offered in Denver for evidences of vote selling at the last election the only woman who was caught, so to speak, with the goods on her was a very poor working woman who accepted from a committeeman the sum of 10 cents with which to buy a pair of shoestrings in order that she might be presentable to go to the polls.

Another instance of the independence of the woman voter is the action of the women of Seattle, who as soon as they obtained the ballot used it to recall Mayor Gill. Gill succeeded in getting himself renominated recently but was overwhelmingly defeated by what is described as a practically solid female vote.

The women of Los Angeles proved by their vote in the election of last November that they intend to think for themselves on political matters. Before the woman suffrage amendment was passed by the voters of California it was generally supposed that the votes of the women would be cast very largely for the Socialist party. The election returns proved this supposition to be erroneous.

While women have shown themselves conservative rather than radical upon nearly all questions of public policy concerning which they have had an opportunity to register their opinions, the initiative, referendum and recall have been especially popular among both the women who vote and the women who are hoping to vote. Dr. Cora Smith Eaton of Seattle, who married Dr. Judson King, secretary of the National Referendum League, in February, and who was one of the most prominent workers in the Washington suffrage campaign, is an advocate of the measures that her husband stands for, and has made many speeches herself in favor of them.

The Governors of all the suffrage States have warmly endorsed equal suffrage over their signatures many times, and so have legislators in the same States. The suffragists point to these endorsements as evidence that the system has been a success, while the anti assert that the officeholders are forced to pretend to believe in the votes of women in order to save their political scalps. Practically all the newspapers in these States also endorse woman suffrage, but the anti make similar charges against the editors.

As regards other individuals and organizations equal franchise has been formally endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and by the Labor Federations of twenty-one States. State granges all over the country have gone on record as being in favor of woman suffrage, and long lists of clergymen of all denominations have expressed their approval of it.

Shortly before her death Mrs. Julia

Ward Howe sent a circular letter to all the Episcopal, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist clergymen in the suffrage States, to all the Congregational Sunday school superintendents and to the editors of all the important newspapers, asking for their opinions on woman suffrage. Of those questioned sixty-two were opposed, forty-six were in doubt, and 516 were in favor.

Col. Roosevelt's Observations.

Theodore Roosevelt in an editorial published in the Outlook on Feb. 3, which both suffragists and anti quote as favorable to their cause, wrote of the results of the votes of women as he had observed them.

"In our Western States where the suffrage has been given to women," he says, "I am unable to see that any great difference has been caused, as compared with neighboring States of similar social and industrial conditions where women have not the suffrage. There has been no very marked change in general political conditions nor in the social and industrial position of women. Yet what slight changes have occurred have been for the better and not the worse."

As a clinching culmination to the present suffragist activity here and abroad a "speaking class" for the proper training of unseasoned and amateur suffragists of woman suffrage doctrine has been established by the New York State Suffrage Association. Women prominent in the movement already declare the class is destined to play one of the most important parts, if not the most important part, in the future effort to attain political enfranchisement.

Carrying out the plan the Woman's Suffrage party announces a class for Monday evenings, and other women's organizations which have the interest of big movements at heart have announced their intention of including public speaking classes in their work.

Invitations sent out by the New York State Suffrage Association offering two instruction in public speaking have been eagerly accepted by interested young women.

Last Thursday evening at the State headquarters, No. 180 Madison avenue, thirty-five young suffragists demonstrated that the art of oratory is not an inherited, but an acquired quality.

"You wouldn't think that three weeks ago most of these speakers suffered acutely from stage fright, would you?" asked Mrs. Gertrude Nelson Andrews, director of the class.

"Most of the girls were so scared that they couldn't talk for two consecutive minutes. And now one of the difficulties I have is to keep them within the prescribed limit."

"There is a growing demand," said Mrs. Andrews, "from the States especially where the campaign is active, for good suffrage speakers. There are not enough at the present time. The class is not only acquiring dozens of converts to the cause."

"It is surprising how rapidly young women who have an interest in suffrage acquire a ready delivery and self-assurance."

Then Mrs. Andrews explained her method of grooming the young women for campaign work.

"When I offered to teach women to talk, some of them laughed at me. 'Teach women to talk! Why is there any class of women who does not use her vocal organs to express?' they asked me."

"I explained that I wanted to teach women to talk and think at the same time. The two, you know," remarked Mrs. Andrews, "are not always closely associated."

"Of course, I give the class a little training in voice culture. Then I have them a good suffrage vocabulary. I give them the names of the class and read carefully the newspapers for political news, and then I call upon them to state extemporaneously on current political topics."